

Message Text

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SUBJECT:PRESS ITEMS ON TURKEY

FOLLOWING ARE TEXTS OF PRESS ITEMS ON TURKISH-SOVIET RELATIONS AND TURKISH ARMS EMBARGO.

1. JACK ANDERSON COLUMN ENTITLED "TURKEY: NEIGHBORLY WITH THE SOVIETS," FROM JUNE 18 WASHINGTON POST: BEGIN TEXT:

TO THE CHAGRIN OF TURKEY'S ALLIES, PRIME MINISTER BULENT ECEVIT HAS BEEN FLIRTING POLITICALLY WITH SOVIET PRESIDENT LEONID BREZHNEV. ECEVIT, UNABLE TO COAX THE UNITED STATES OUT OF THE ARMS OF THE GREEKS, IS PLAYING THE ROLE OF THE UNCLASSIFIED

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REJECTED SUITOR. HE WILL CALL AT THE KREMLIN THIS WEEK TO EXCHANGE TOASTS AND SIGN A "GOOD NEIGHBOR" PACT WITH BREZHNEV.

"WE ARE WORRIED ABOUT THE ECEVIT-BREZHNEV MEETING AND ANY AGREEMENT THEY MAY REACH," CONCEDED A TOP NATO STRATEGIST. BECAUSE OF THE U.S. ARMS EMBARGO, THE OFFICER CONTINUED, "THE STATE OF THE TURKISH ARMED FORCES IS DEPLORABLE". UNLESS THE BAN IS LIFTED, NATO LEADERS BELIEVE, THE TURKS WILL EASE OUT OF THE WESTERN CAMP AND MAY BEGIN TO PURCHASE

SOVIET WEAPONS.

FROM THE MILITARY VIEWPOINT, THIS WOULD BE DISASTROUS. TURKEY IS THE BULWARK THAT PROTECTS NATO'S SOUTHEASTERN FLANK. THE TURKS SHARE A 370 MILE BORDER WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND CONTROL THE STRATEGIC STRAITS THROUGH WHICH RUSSIA'S BLACK SEA FLEET MUST PASS. ANKARA DEVOTES NEARLY A QUARTER OF ITS REVENUES TO ITS 500,000 MAN MILITARY FORCE-AMONG THE ALLIES, SECOND ONLY TO THE U.S. FORCE IN SIZE.

THE NATO HIGH COMMAND, THEREFORE, FEARS THE DEPARTURE OF TURKEY WOULD IMPERIL THE SECURITY OF THE WEST. THIS IS AN ATTITUDE THAT THE TURKS ARE EAGER TO ENCOURAGE. ECEVIT HAS THREATENED TO FORGE A "NEW NATIONAL-SECURITY CONCEPT" AND DIVERSIFY HIS SOURCES OF WEAPONRY IN ORDER TO LESSEN TURKEY'S DEPENDENCE "ON THE DECISION OR INDECISION OF OTHER COUNTRIES."

HIS NEW FOREIGN POLICY, ECEVIT HAS SAID, "WILL TRY TO PROMOTE MUTUAL TRUST WITH THE COUNTRIES IN THIS AREA." FURTHERMORE, HE ADDED, TURKEY WILL ATTEMPT TO AVOID ANY NATO COMMITMENT THAT MIGHT AROUSE THE "CONCERN AND MISTRUST OF UNCLASSIFIED

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OTHER REGIONAL COUNTRIES." PUT ANOTHER WAY: TURKEY WILL STRIVE TO BE MORE NEIGHBORLY TOWARD THE SOVIETS.

TAKEN AT FACE VALUE, THIS WOULD BE A SHOCKING TURNABOUT. FOR YEARS, THE TURKS WERE AS HOSTILE TOWARD MOSCOW AS THEY WERE FAITHFUL TO NATO. BUT AFTER THEIR WEAPONS WERE CUT OFF, THEY BEGAN CASTING COME-HITHER GLANCES ACROSS THE BORDER. SOVIET PRIME MINISTER ALEXEI KOSYGIN RESPONDED IN DECEMBER 1975 BY VENTURING INTO TURKEY. HE LEFT WITH A PLEDGE THAT THE TWO NATIONS WOULD SIGN A "POLITICAL DOCUMENT ON FRIENDLY RELATIONS AND COOPERATION." THIS IS THE INSTRUMENT THAT ECEVIT WILL NOW ENDORSE IN MOSCOW.

THERE NEED BE NO FEAR, THE TURKS ASSURED THEIR NATO PARTNERS, THAT TURKEY WAS PREPARING TO BOLT THE ALLIANCE. IT WAS SIMPLY A MATTER, THEY SAID, OF DEVELOPING "POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS" WITH THEIR COMMUNIST NEIGHBOR.

BUT WE HAVE HAD ACCESS TO ECEVIT'S SECRET CORRESPONDENCE WITH BREZHNEV, WHICH CONTAINS SOME FAWNING LANGUAGE. IN THE NAME OF DETENTE, THE TURKISH LEADER HAS OFFERED TO SET ASIDE OLD ANTAGONISMS AND TO PROMOTE FRIENDSHIP, DISARMAMENT AND PEACE.

"MR. PRESIDENT, SINCE THE RELENTLESS ARMS RACE IN ALL PARTS OF THE GLOBE IS NOT IN LINE WITH THE DETENTE PROCESS," ECEVIT WROTE TO BREZHNEV LAST MARCH, "TURKEY IS RESOLVED TO

STRONGLY SUPPORT DISARMAMENT EFFORTS...AND TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE ELIMINATION OF CAUSES UNDERLYING THE ARMS RACE."

THE LETTER CONCLUDED: "I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO REPEAT THE IMPORTANCE WHICH TURKEY ATTACHES TO MAINTAINING AND DEVELOPING RELATIONS OF FRIENDLY COOPERATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION BASED ON MUTUAL RESPECT AND TO EXPRESS MY CONVICTION THAT THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF GOOD-NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS UNCLASSIFIED

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BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES WILL BE A VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE."

BUT IF A BALMY NEW BREEZE IS BLOWING BETWEEN ANKARA AND MOSCOW, IT IS NOT EXPECTED TO THAW ALL THE ICE. FOR THE TURKS AND THE RUSSIANS ARE TRADITIONAL ENEMIES WHO HAVE FOUGHT A DOZEN WARS. TURKEY'S CONSERVATIVE MILITARY LEADERS SIMPLY WOULD NEVER ACCEPT A SOVIET-TURKISH MILITARY ACCOMMODATION. TURKEY IS ALSO AN ISLAMIC COUNTRY AND THEREFORE-IN THE OPINION OF ONE U.S. ANALYST-"IMMUNE TO COMMUNISM."

NOR IS THE STATE DEPARTMENT GREATLY ALARMED OVER A SOVIET-TURKISH RAPPROCHEMENT. "OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES HAVE DEALINGS WITH MOSCOW ALL THE TIME," SAID ONE OFFICIAL, "WHY NOT TURKEY?" ECEVIT HIMSELF MADE THIS POINT IN A RECENT CLOSED-DOOR SESSION WITH CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS. HE WAS ASKED TO EXPLAIN THE MOTIVE BEHIND HIS TRIP TO MOSCOW. NO ONE, SNAPPED ECEVIT INDIGNANTLY, ASKS THAT QUESTION OF CYRUS VANCE WHEN HE VISITS RUSSIA.

EVEN THE PENTAGON IS UNPERTURBED BY THE TURKISH-RUSSIAN SWEET-TALK--SO UNPERTURBED, IN FACT, THAT IT HAS BRIEFED THE TURKS ON THE SENSITIVE AND SOPHISTICATED AIRBORNE WARNING AND CONTROL SYSTEM (AWACS). A CABLEGRAM, LABELED "LIMITED OFFICIAL USE," FROM US AMBASSADOR TO TURKEY RONALD SPIERS REVEALS THAT TURKISH LEADERS WERE BRIEFED ON THE AWACS MARCH 3.

IN RELAXED MOMENTS, THE TURKS THEMSELVES ADMIT THAT THE CURRENT INFATUATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION WILL NEVER BLOSSOM INTO A REAL LOVE AFFAIR. THE RUSSIANS "BUILD A LOT OF SHOWCASE PROJECTS AND THEN TRY TO EXTRACT POLITICAL FAVORS, UNCLASSIFIED

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A HIGH-LEVEL FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL TOLD MY ASSOCIATE JOE SPEAR IN ANKARA. THE SOVIETS, CONTINUED THE OFFICIAL, "WOULD LIKE TO FINLANDIZE" TURKEY" - TURN IT INTO A NEUTRAL COUNTRY ON GOOD TERMS WITH MOSCOW. BUT THE TURKS, HE SAID

WITH A WILY SMILE, "QUIETLY RESIST THESE EFFORTS."

END TEXT.

, ;ICLE BY CONGRESSMAN LEE H. HAMILTON (D-INDIANA)
ENTITLED "WHY WE SHOULD LIFT THE TURKISH ARMS EMBARGO,"
FROM JUNE 19 WASHINGTON POST: BEGIN TEXT:

IT IS TIME TO LIFT THE AMERICAN ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST
TURKEY. THE PRESENT SITUATION IS CLEARLY UNACCEPTABLE.
CYPRUS TALKS ARE DEADLOCKED AS BOTH PARTIES CONTINUE TO
POLITICK IN WASHINGTON RATHER THAN NEGOTIATE WITH ONE
ANOTHER. NATO SECURITY HAS DETERIORATED. THE AGONY OF
MANY CYPRIOTS PERSISTS AND MANY GREEK CYPRIOTS CANNOT RE-
TURN TO THEIR HOMES. OUR BILATERAL TIES WITH GREECE,
TURKEY AND CYPRUS ARE SUFFERING.

SIX STRONG ARGUMENTS CAN BE ADVANCED FOR LIFTING THE
EMBARGO:

FIRST, THE EMBARGO HAS FAILED TO ACHIEVE ITS INTENDED
OBJECTIVE OF PROMOTING A SETTLEMENT ON CYPRUS. RATHER,
IT HAS STIFFENED RESISTANCE TO ACCOMMODATION BY ENCOURAG-
ING BOTH THE GREEKS AND THE TURKS, FOR THEIR OWN REASONS,
TO WITHHOLD NECESSARY CONCESSIONS.

TURKEY, A PROUD AND FIRMLY INDEPENDENT NATION, REJECTS THE
IDEA OF YIELDING TO PRESSURE. THE TURKS FIND THE EMBARGO
A PAINFUL HUMILIATION. MANY GREEKS WANT TO KEEP THE EM-
BARGO IN PLACE, AND THEY BELIEVE THAT PROGRESS IN NEGO-
TIATIONS WILL LEAD TO ITS REMOVAL.

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BY LIFTING THE EMBARGO AND ESPOUSING A POLICY OF EVEN-
HANDEDNESS IN NEGOTIATIONS, THE UNITED STATES CAN CONTRI-
BUTE TO THE CREATION OF AN ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH CONSTRUC-
TIVE CYPRUS TALKS CAN OCCUR. OVERT AMERICAN PRESSURE ON
ANY ONE PARTY WILL AT BEST PRODUCE A TEMPORARY SETTLEMENT.
IN THIS SENSE THE EMBARGO HAS REDUCED, RATHER THAN
STRENGTHENED, OUR LEVERAGE.

SECOND, THE EMBARGO HAS JEOPARDIZED NATO SECURITY, THE
LONG-RANGE DEFENSE INTERESTS OF GREECE, AND AMERICAN
CAPABILITIES IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. THESE DAM-
AGING CONSEQUENCES ARE MAGNIFIED BY THE UNPRECEDENTED
BUILDUP OF SOVIET FORCES ON BOTH THE SOUTHERN FLANK AND
THE CENTRAL FRONT.

TURKEY, WITH THE SECOND-LARGEST STANDING ARMY IN NATO, IS
OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO BOTH THE ALLIANCE AND THE UNITED
STATES. THE DECLINE OF ITS FORCES LEAVES THE WHOLE OF

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE MORE VULNERABLE TO SOVIET PENETRATION.

SINCE THE EMBARGO BEGAN, OUR LOSS OF INTELLIGENCE ON MISSILE TESTS AND TROOP MOVEMENTS IN THE SOVIET UNION HAS BEEN SIGNIFICANT. WE SHOULD NOT LOSE SIGHT OF THE FACT THAT THE STRATEGICALLY IMPORTANT TURKISH LAND MASS SEPARATES THE SOVIET UNION FROM THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE MEDITERRANEAN.

WITH THE EXCEPTION OF GREECE, OUR NATO ALLIES URGE AN END TO THE EMBARGO. AT A TIME WHEN WE ARE ASKING NATO ALLIES TO INCREASE THEIR DEFENSE COMMITMENTS, IT IS UNWISE FOR US TO NEGLECT THE VULNERABLE SOUTHERN FLANK.

THIRD, THE EMBARGO ENCOURAGES TURKEY TO RETHINK BOTH ITS UNCLASSIFIED

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BASIC FOREIGN-POLICY DIRECTION AND ITS TIES WITH NATO AND THE UNITED STATES. THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE EMBARGO ARE NOT ONLY MILITARY. TURKEY IS THE DEVELOPING COUNTRY WITH THE LONGEST CONTINUOUS HISTORY OF DEMOCRACY IN RECENT TIMES. THE TURKISH REVOLUTION EARLIER IN THIS CENTURY STARTED A PROCESS OF WESTERNIZATION THAT WAS CONSUMMATED THREE DECADES AGO WHEN TURKEY JOINED NATO. THIS HISTORY HELPS TO EXPLAIN TURKEY'S ANXIETY OVER ITS TREATMENT BY THE UNITED STATES. THE TURKS' DRIFT TOWARD NEUTRALISM MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO CONTINUE.

THERE ARE MANY COUNSELS OF FOREIGN POLICY REAPPRAISAL IN TURKEY TODAY AND NONE OF THEM SUGGESTS A STRENGTHENING OF TURKEY'S TIES TO THE WEST. BY ENDING THE EMBARGO, THE UNITED STATES CAN HELP TO REFOCUS THIS DEBATE IN TURKEY, RESTORE BALANCE AND STABILITY TO A TROUBLED DEMOCRACY AND REKINDLE THE TURKS' FAITH IN THE WEST.

FOURTH, THE PRINCIPLE OF THE LAW HAS BEEN UPHELD, AND TURKEY HAS BEEN PUNISHED FOR ITS MISUSE OF AMERICAN ARMS IN CYPRUS. WE HAVE DEMONSTRATED TO ALL COUNTRIES THAT WE ARE SERIOUS ABOUT ENFORCING THE LAW, WHICH PROVIDES FOR THE TERMINATION OF MILITARY AID IN CASES WHERE US-SUPPLIED EQUIPMENT HAS BEEN USED FOR AGGRESSIVE PURPOSES RATHER THAN LEGITIMATE SELF-DEFENSE.

IS IT NOT REASONABLE TO THINK THAT AN EMBARGO THAT HAS CRIPPLED TURKISH MILITARY CAPABILITIES FOR NEARLY FOUR YEARS IS SUFFICIENT PUNISHMENT FOR THE MISUSE OF AMERICAN EQUIPMENT? IS NO ALLOWANCE AT ALL TO BE MADE FOR THE COMPLEX CIRCUMSTANCES SURROUNDING THE INITIAL INCIDENT, INCLUDING TURKEY'S PERCEPTION OF ITS TREATY OBLIGATIONS TO ENSURE THE INDEPENDENCE OF CYPRUS AND WHAT IT SEES AS ITS FORBEARANCE IN THE FACE OF VIOLATIONS OF THE CIVIL

AND HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE TURKISH MINORITY ON CYPRUS? IS
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THE LAW NOT NOW BEING APPLIED SELECTIVELY?

CLEARLY, THE TIME HAS COME TO QUESTION WHETHER THE RULE OF LAW IS ENHANCED BY UNYIELDING AND SELECTIVE APPLICATION. THERE HAVE BEEN OTHER VIOLATIONS OF THE LAW THAT HAVE GONE UNPUNISHED. PUNISHMENT NEED NOT BE OF EXTENDED SCOPE AND PROLONGED DURATION TO BE USEFUL. BEYOND A CERTAIN POINT, IT BECOMES SELF-DEFEATING.

FIFTH, THE SUFFERING OF THE CYPRIOT PEOPLE WILL MORE LIKELY BE ENDED BY NEGOTIATIONS AFTER THE EMBARGO IS LIFTED. WE ALL AGREE THAT THE PLIGHT OF GREEK CYPRIOT REFUGEES NEEDS TO BE RESOLVED AND THAT THE LONGSTANDING GRIEVANCES OF THE TURKISH CYPRIOT MINORITY MUST BE TREATED.

BUT PROBLEMS OF HUMAN AND POLITICAL RIGHTS THAT STEM FROM DECADES OF COMMUNAL ANTAGONISM CAN BETTER BE ADDRESSED IN THE CONTEXT OF NEGOTIATION FOR AN OVERALL CYPRUS SETTLEMENT THAN IN THE PRESENT DEADLOCKED SITUATION. IT IS APPARENT THAT THESE HUMAN- AND POLITICAL-RIGHTS PROBLEMS ARE NOT BEING ADDRESSED TODAY.

SIXTH, THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT AND THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS HAVE RECENTLY SHOWN A WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT. WHILE INITIAL TURKISH PROPOSALS ARE NEITHER ALL THE GREEK SIDE WANTS NOR ALL IT SHOULD EXPECT, THEY SHOULD NOT BE VIEWED WITH INDIFFERENCE. TURKEY HAS WITHDRAWN 16,000 TROOPS OVER THE MONTHS, AND THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS HAVE DISPLAYED A WILLINGNESS TO MAKE SIGNIFICANT TERRITORIAL ADJUSTMENTS IN SIX SPECIFIC AREAS, REDUCE TROOP LEVELS FURTHER AND ALLOW TENS OF THOUSANDS OF GREEK CYPRIOTS TO RETURN TO NEW FAMAGUSTA AS NEGOTIATIONS
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BEGIN, AND REOPEN THE NICOSIA AIRPORT. FURTHERMORE, A DETAILED CONSTITUTIONAL RECOMMENDATION IS ON THE TABLE FOR DISCUSSION. THESE INITIAL PROPOSALS ARE PROMISING AND CONSTRUCTIVE. THEY OFFER A BASIS FOR RENEWED TALKS.

TENTATIVE MANIFESTATIONS OF TURKISH FLEXIBILITY AND COMPROMISE WILL BE DISSIPATED IF THE EMBARGO IS KEPT IN PLACE. NEW AND EVOLVING TURKISH POSITIONS CAN BE DRAWN OUT AND DEVELOPED ONLY THROUGH NEGOTIATION. PRIME MINISTERS BULENT ECEVIT AND CONSTANTINE KARAMANLIS ARE MEETING. THE CYPRIOT LEADERS SHOULD DO LIKEWISE.

OF COURSE, THERE CAN BE NO GUARANTEE THAT LIFTING THE EMBARGO WILL EITHER RESOLVE PROBLEMS IN OUR RELATIONS WITH THESE NATO ALLIES OR HELP ACHIEVE PROGRESS TOWARD A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT. BUT THERE IS CERTAINTY THAT THE PRESENT UNACCEPTABLE SITUATION WILL BE PERPETUATED AND A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT FURTHER POSTPONED IF THE EMBARGO REMAINS. THE REASONABLE HOPE IS THAT LIFTING THE EMBARGO WOULD TRIGGER PROGRESS IN THE AREA.

AFTER THREE YEARS OF IMPASSE AND DEEPENING RISK TO OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS, IT IS TIME TO TRY TO BREAK THE IMPASSE BY LIFTING THE EMBARGO. WE MUST ADOPT AN APPROACH MORE LIKELY TO PRODUCE A SETTLEMENT ON CYPRUS. WE NEED A POLICY THAT IS MORE ATTUNED TO AMERICAN CONCERNS IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN.

END TEXT. VANCE

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